UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

An Anonymous Epistle of Dido to Aeneas

(Anthologia Latina 83)

An Edition, with Introduction, Translation, and Notes

BY

ETHEL LEIGH CHUBB

A THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
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* For the early emendators whose names appear in the apparatus criticus, Heinse, Oudendorp, Schrader, Higt, Hoeufft, and Klotz, I have relied on the statements of other editors. Heinse's conjectures are probably contained in the ms. copy which he made of the Salmasian Codex, cf. Riese, p. XV and footnote 2, Burman Vol. 1, pp. XLIV–XLV. Those of Oudendorp and Schrader seem to have been communicated directly to Burman, cf. Vol. 1, p. LII: "Franciscus Oudendorpius, cui et eo nomine me haud parum obstrictum gratus profiteor, quod specimina huius operis typographum exercentiare censere adiuverit, et praesertim egregiis passim emendationibus suis optime de his Catalectis mereri voluerit; quemadmodum etiam clarissimus Joh. Schraderus, Franequeranae Academiae insigne decus, suas coniecturas, tamquam gemmas interlucentes, hic illic splendere concessit." Burman gives Higt's emendations in the *Mantissa Adnotationum* in Vol. 2, pp. 711 ff. Those of Hoeufft are in his *Pericula Critica*; see Baehrens' note on verse 14.

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INTRODUCTION

The Salmasian Codex preserves, in incomplete form, an ancient anthology compiled at Carthage between the years 532 and 534 A. D.[1] In this collection is found the anonymous epistle of Dido to Aeneas which is here presented.

DATE[2] AND AUTHORSHIP

The only external evidence for the date of this poem is furnished by the known time of the compilation of the Salmasian

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[1]Riese, *Praefatio*, pp. XXIV–XXV; Schubert, pp. 17 ff.

[2]Monceaux apparently assigns it to the 3rd century, Schanz to the end of the 3rd century. Teuffel and Palmer think it is probably not earlier than the 4th century. Schoell places it in the 6th century.

Anthology, according to which it must be earlier than 534 A. D. A further indication may possibly be found in the fact that the poem is anonymous. A number of poems in the Anthology which are given under the names of their authors have in addition to the name the title *vir clarissimus, vir inlustris,* or some such complimentary expression; from this the conclusion has been drawn that these poets were contemporaries of the compiler of the Anthology.[3] Consequently there is a presumption that the poems which appear without such a title are of earlier date. While some weight may be given to this evidence, it cannot be regarded as conclusive, for there is always the possibility that the name or complimentary title originally attached to any particular poem may have been lost in copying; also, while it is not probable that the work of an author still living would be inserted anonymously in an anthology, it is by no means impossible.

For further evidence we must examine the poem itself. In two passages[4] the author expresses Epicurean views, suggesting that he was not a Christian. This fact leads Teuffel and Schanz to date the poem just before the official triumph of Christianity.[5] Here again we must beware of attaching too much importance to these expressions, for paganism still lived on and flourished side by side with Christianity long after the official recognition of the latter.[6] There were, too, nominal Christians, like Ausonius, whose religion rested lightly upon them, and did not prevent them from employing the old mythological subjects and the language of paganism. Further, it must be remembered that the opinions which the author attributes to Dido are not necessarily his own. Consequently, while we may conclude that the author was probably a pagan, we are not justified in going so far as to say that the poem must have been written before Christianity became the official religion of Rome.

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[3]Riese, pp. XXVI–XXVIII.

[4]41 and 121–2; cf. also 63 and note.

[5]Cf. Teuffel, Vol. 3, §398: "Aus der Zeit vor dem amtlichen Siege des Christentums scheint eine Anzahl von Schriftwerken in gebundener Form zu stammen, die sich mit Unbefangenheit oder gar Heiterkeit auf dem Boden der alten Götterwelt bewegen und die überlieferten Formen meist mit leidlicher Sicherheit handhaben."

[6]Dill, pp. 385 ff.

Aside from the foregoing indications, we have only the evidence of language and style, an uncertain means of determining the date of a poem so short as this, so imitative, and so full of reminiscences of earlier authors. The writer was consciously using Vergil and Ovid as models; his diction frequently echoes that of other classical poets. Thus the language of his own time is overlaid with that of the writers whom he imitates. We may, however, note the following indications of later date:

(1) *Metre.* The metre is correct according to classical standards, except that in three places[7] initial *h* is counted as a consonant in making position. This is a peculiarity of Christian poetry, and first appears in the fourth century.[8] Our author does not follow this rule consistently, for in sixteen places *h* is treated just as in verse of the classical period. Elision is remarkably rare, occurring only five times.[9]

(2) *Syntax.* The following variations from classical usage occur:[10]

Double negative for emphasis (29).

Fruor with the accusative case (49).

Licet as a conjunction with the pluperfect subjunctive (115) and with the indicative (148–9). The former is first found in the early imperial period, the latter from the time of Apuleius.

Perfect infinitive used with the force of the present (115, 128). This is not peculiar to late Latin, but becomes more frequent in the later period, and according to Schmalz[11] is a favorite use with Christian writers.

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[7]98, 119, 132. [8]See note on 98.

[9]56, 95, 98, 110, 147.

The infrequency of elision is not of much value in establishing the date; from the time of the Silver Age elision was avoided by some poets, but there is no regular decrease in the frequency of its occurrence; cf. E. H. Sturtevant and R. G. Kent, *Transactions of the American Philological Association,* 46, pp. 146 ff.

Birt (pp. 61–2) points out a further peculiarity in the very frequent use of two caesuras, dividing the line into three parts. He finds the same peculiarity in the short poem of 20 lines on Phaedra, attributed to Vincentius (*Anth.* 279). On these grounds he concludes that this epistle also is the work of Vincentius. These metrical peculiarities are not in themselves sufficient reason for attributing the two poems to the same author, in the absence of other marked resemblances; moreover, the poem on Phaedra is much more faulty metrically, containing several mistakes in quantity within its short limits.

[10]For fuller discussion see notes on verses cited. [11]Pp. 435–6.

Future participle used more frequently than in the classical period (45, 56, 74, 87).[12]

Asyndeton (124 and 129) is noted by Teuffel[13] as an indication of late date.

(3) *Vocabulary*. The following words or expressions show certain peculiarities:[14]

libenter habe (2), *incole* (3), *dictare salutem* (6), *pendet* (144) *apex* (22), *sacramenta* (33), *convincere* (37) and *resolvere* (9), for the corresponding simple verbs, *capit* (69), *fluctus* (75), *vota queror* (87), *durum tuli* (103–4), *vota cupis* (137), *sidere* (141), *meus* as vocative (144).

These peculiarities of usage, taken all together, point decidedly to a date not earlier than the fourth century. The choice of subject and the general treatment lead to the same conclusion. In the time of barren imitation which succeeded the great creative period of Roman literature, admiration for the masterpieces of the past so dominated the minds of educated men that it left little room for originality, or rather whatever originality existed spent itself on mere matters of form and language. The old themes were treated again and again, and ornamented with new rhetorical devices. Among the great poets Vergil was revered above all, his works were studied in the schools and used as models for imitation.[15] The absurd length to which this veneration was carried is shown in the Vergilian cento, consisting of phrases from that poet fitted together with much ingenuity so as to make a new poem on a totally different subject.[16] A regular school exercise was the *dictio*, an expansion of a line of passage from Vergil.[17] The works of Macrobius and of Martir

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[12]For statistics of the frequency of occurrence of the future participle in different writers see E. B. Lease, *American Journal of Philology* 1919, pp. 262 ff.

[13]Vol. 3. §398.12.

[14]For fuller discussion see notes on verses cited.

[15]Dill, pp. 385 ff.

[16]Anth. 1.7–18·

[17]Three of these have been preserved in the *Anthology* (223, 244, 255) under the heading *Locus Vergilianus* or *Thema Vergilianum*. Among the *Dictiones* of Ennodius is one (in prose) entitled *Verba Didonis cum abeuntem videret Aenean* (*Dict.* 28). The grammarian was occupied with Vergil to such an extent that to say he knew Vergil was sufficient designation of his calling, as in the epigram beginning *Arma virumque docens atque arma virumque peritus*, Baehrens *Poetae Latini Minores* 5, p. 98.

anus Capella are an indication of the reverence which was paid to him in the fourth century. Of such a period as this our poem is evidently a production.

In regard to the place of composition we have no indication except the fact that the Salmasian Anthology was compiled at Carthage. Apparently all the contemporary poets included in the collection are African,[18] and it is natural to suppose that many of the anonymous works also have the same origin. We know that Carthage was a flourishing centre of culture and literary activity during the early centuries of the Christian era.[19] Many minor works must have been produced there by mediocre writers whose names have not survived, and it is much more probable that compositions of slight merit found their way into an anthology put together at the place where they originated, than that they came from other parts of the Empire. The subject of Dido and her sorrows is one that might naturally be expected to appeal particularly to a Carthaginian poet.

The epistle itself shows that the author was some one who was familiar with the early poets, especially with Vergil, Ovid, Horace, and Lucretius, for it abounds in verbal reminiscences of their works. The correctness of the versification, too, proves that he was well trained in the schools. On the other hand it shows little originality, and there is an entire absence of poetic inspiration or deep feeling. Such a writer might naturally be found among those whose profession was the study and teaching of literature, and it seems reasonable to conclude that the author may have been a Carthaginian rhetorician or grammarian of the latter part of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. The poem is valuable in showing what were the interests and literary activities of educated men of this period, and in indicating the strength of the influence which was still exercised by Vergil and Ovid.

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[18]Riese, p. XXIX. [19]Boissier, pp. 238 ff.; Monceaux, pp. 459 ff.

Style and Literary Characteristics

By the majority of those who mention it, the poem is briefly dismissed as a mere rhetorical exercise. Palmer[20] is the only one of its critics who allows it any merit. The choice of a theme already treated by Vergil and Ovid inevitably challenges comparison with the works of those poets, and such comparison is not to the advantage of our poem. Yet if we accept the author's own estimate of himself as *modicus poeta*,[21] and keep in mind the narrow limits within which he confines his work, it is not altogether without charm and interest. While in a sense it is nothing more than a rhetorical exercise, a comparison with the *dictiones* referred to above shows that it is of much greater length than they, and much more original in its treatment of the subject chosen.

The poet doubtless had Ovid's epistle of Dido[22] before him as his model. The setting in the story is the same as Ovid's, namely the time when Dido asks her sister Anna to carry her appeals to Aeneas.[23] The conception of Dido's character also is Ovid's rather than Vergil's—she is gentle and forgiving, resigned to death. She reproaches Aeneas, it is true, after the manner of Vergil's heroine, but her remonstrances are only a mild echo of Vergil's passionate words, and her brief anger is soon suceeded by gentler emotion. Her last wish is for Aeneas' safety. The language, as well as the general treatment, is more suggestive of Ovid than of Vergil, as might be expected; for the former could be imitated much more easily by a writer of mediocre ability. Again and again phrases occur which echo those of Ovid,[24] showing that the author must have been sufficiently familiar with his works to reproduce his language unconsciously.

Yet at the same time he altogether lacks the smooth, easy flow of Ovid's verse. The thought is frequently difficult to follow, partly because the language is condensed to the point of obscurity. A noticeable characteristic is a certain poverty of vocabulary, which shows itself in the repetition of the same words and phrases, e. g. *vota nocentis* (39, 99), *honesta pericula* (97, 136), *peritura* (74, 87), *perfide* (35, 119, 124). *Nocens* in

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[20]p. XX, footnote 1. [21]5 [22]*Epist.* 7.
[23]Verg. *Aen.* 4.437–8; cf. Palmer p. 339.
[24]See notes passim.

different forms occurs six times, and *vota* eleven times. Quite striking is a tendency to repeat a word three or four lines after its first occurrence, e. g. *ipse dolor* (11), *dolor ipse* (16), cf. *ipse dolor* (89); *ligavit* (17), *ligat* (20); *conscia* (29 and 32); *pendet* (14), *pependet* (18); *alitura* (56), *alit* (59); *reparare* (69), *reparant* (73); *miseram* (90 and 92); *manus* (92), *manu* (94); *nefas* (97 and 99).

The most original and the best part of the poem is the long passage[25] contrasting the constant changes in nature with the enduring grief of unhappy love. The idea is by no means new, but it is developed here to an unusual length and with considerable skill. As we should expect, the details are of literary origin, not drawn directly from nature. The passage is divided into stanzas of equal length by the refrain *Sua taedia solus fallere nescit amor.* Less effective is the second refrain,[26] *Cui digna rependes, si mihi dura paras*? It does not mark off a distinct division of the poem, as does the first one, the stanzas are not so clearly separated in thought, and one of them is longer by a line than the others.

A marked feature of the poem is the use that is made of alliteration. The following lines show striking instances of this:

8. *modo, me magis, mortis*
15. *calamus celerare querellas*
17. *vias et verba*
27–8. *conubium, crimen, credula, cuncta*
40. *verba, voco, vulnera*
78–9. *roscida, rident, rosis*
87. *vota, vellem*
92. *membra manus, miseram*
95. *morte, mersum, figere ferrum*
96. *pectore pulsum*
97. *pericula passus*

[25] 42–82. [26] 100 ff.

SIGLA*

A = *Codex Parisinus* 10318, commonly known as Salmasianus, from its former owner Salmasius (Claude de Saumaise), into whose possession it came between the years 1609 and 1620. This is the only original ms. authority. It is written in uncials, and belongs to the seventh, or perhaps the beginning of the eighth century. A description of it, with an account of its history, is given by Riese (pp. XII ff.); see also Traube, Philologus 54, p. 124. It is reproduced in facsimile under the title: *Bibliothèque Nationale*: *département des manuscrits: Anthologie de Poètes Latins dite de Saumaise; reproduction réduite du manuscrit en onciale, Latin 10318, de la Bibliothèque Nationale;* Paris, 1903.

A′ = Corrections of *A* in the original hand.

a = Emendations of Salmasius, written in the margin of *A*.

α = Emendations made by the writer of the *Schedae Divionenses*, a copy of *A* made at Divio (Dijon) between the years 1651 and 1756, and now at Heidelberg. This ms. was used by Burman, who regarded it as of great value.

C = *Codex Parisinus* 8069, containing selections which were probably intended for use in schools; see Riese pp. XLI–XLII. It contains only two verses of this poem, 4 and 6.

The apparatus criticus is based on that of Riese's second edition, but for the sake of the completeness which seems desirable, a number of proposed conjectures are included which Riese does not note.

The text represents the reading of A when not otherwise noted.

The abbreviations used in the notes are those of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.

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*Those used in Riese's edition; see Riese p. 33.

ANALYSIS

1–5 Preface, in which the author asks the reader's indulgence.

6–26. Pride should have kept me from appealing to you, but love has overcome my pride. Let this confession be my excuse.

27–41. My only fault was that I trusted you too much; is this the reward I deserve? The reasons that you give for going are only excuses to hide your faithlessness.

42–82. Everything in nature changes; love alone is unchanging:

> 43–47. The moon and the sun alternately prevail.
>
> 48–52. Quiet night succeeds the day.
>
> 53–57. The nightingale through the influence of the night forgets her grief for a time.
>
> 58–62. Night brings joy to the happily married husband and wife.
>
> 63–67. Spring brings the renewal of vegetation on the earth.
>
> 68–72. Sleep restores the strength of the weary husbandman.
>
> 73–77. The tides of the sea rise again after their ebb.
>
> 78–81. After winter the flowers reappear.

82–86. But the changing times and seasons bring me no peace.

87–91. Grief and love do not allow me to remain silent.

91–99. My thoughts of vengeance were overcome by love.

100–144. I sympathized with Creüsa's fate, I showed kindness to Iulus, I welcomed you when you were a shipwrecked stranger, and even gave up my throne to you, but for all this you show no gratitude.

144–150. Yet love is stronger than anger, and my last wish is for your welfare.

DIDO AENEAE

Praefatio

Sic tua semper ames, quisquis pia vota requiris,
Nostra libenter habe; quid carminis otia ludant,
Cerne bonus, mentisque fidem probus incole iudex.
Dulce sonat quod cantat amor; cui grata voluptas
Esse potest, modicum dignetur amare poetam.

Dido Aeneae *om. A* 2. abe *A* carmininis ocia *A* 3. incole *A*, indue *Baehrens*, indole *Higt* 4 *et* 6 *in C fol.* 1 *u. et Vaticano* 639 *s. XI extant* 4. gratia *A*, grata *C a* uoluntas *C* 5. amore *α*.

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1. *Sic:* i. e. on condition that you grant your favor to my work. *Sic* is frequently used to introduce a wish which is made conditional upon something else; e. g.

Verg. *Ecl.* 9. 30–32 *Sic tua Cyrneas fugiant examina taxos,*
Sic cytiso pastae distendant ubera vaccae,
Incipe, si quid habes.

Hor. *Carm.* 1. 3. 1–8 *Sic te diva potens Cypri,*
Sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera,
Ventorumque regat pater
. . . . .
Reddas incolumem precor,
Et serves animae dimidium meae.

Ov. *Epist.* 3. 135–7 *Nunc quoque, sic omnes Peleus pater inpleat annos,*
Sic eat auspiciis Pyrrhus ad arma tuis,
Respice sollicitam Briseida, fortis Achille.

pia vota: This expression is used several times by Ovid, e. g. *Am.* 2. 6. 43 *Quid referam timidae pro te pia vota puellae?* *Met.* 1. 221 *Irridet primo pia vota Lycaon.* See also *Met.* 8. 499, *Fast.* 1. 722, *Rem.* 813. Cf. Auson. 390. 27–8 *Nesciat hos natus, numeret properantior heres, Testamenta magis quam pia vota fovens* and 391.8 *Solus eram, profugaeque dabam pia vota carinae.* *Vota* is accusative of inner object.

DIDO TO AENEAS

PREFACE

As you wish to be ever pleased with your lot, whoever you may be who seek what piety may ask, grant your favor to my, work; with kindness look upon the verses that leisure composes for a pastime, and, as an upright judge, cultivate an impartial. spirit. Sweet is the sound of what love sings; let anyone who can find delight in pleasure deign to love even a humble poet.

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2. *libenter habe:* this expression is used twice in *Sanctae Silviae Peregrit natio,* Bechtel p. 24. 26 *itaque ergo, si libenter habes, quaecumque loca sunhic grata ad videndum christianis, ostendimus tibi,* and p. 32.9 *quia libenter haberetis haec cognoscere.* It does not seem to occur elsewhere, though *habeo* is found with other similar adverbs, e. g. Sall. *Catil.* 51. 11 *multi eas* (sc. *iniurias*) *gravius aequo habuere.* Liv. 7. 5.7 *Ita aegre habuit filium id pro parente ausum.* Tac. *Ann.* 4. 21.2 *quae in praesens Tiberius civiliter habuit.* The use of this expression, which occurs apparently only in one Latin work, is of some importance for dating the poem. The *Peregrinatio* of S. Silvia belongs probably to the last quarter of the fourth century, though some scholars attribute the work to a certain Aetheria, and place it about the middle of the sixth century.
   ludant: of the composition of light or playful verses. Cf.

Catull. 50. 2–5	*Multum lusimus in meis tabellis,* *Ut convenerat esse delicatos.* *Scribens versiculos uterque nostrum* *Ludebat numero modo hoc modo illoc.*
Verg. *Ecl.* 1. 9–10	*Ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum* *Ludere quae vellem calamo permisit agresti.*
Hor. *Carm.* 4. 9. 9–10	*Nec, si quid olim lusit Anacreon,* *Delevit aetas.*

3. *incole,* the ms. reading, is kept by Wernsdorf, and explained as the use of a compound for simple verb, characteristic of late Latin. All the other editors change to *indue* or *indole.* The dictionaries give one instance of *incolo* for *colo,* Codex Theodos. 13. 1. 3. (361 A. D.) *si ea homines vestri ac rusticani etiam in vestris possessionibus commorantes distrahant, quae in his terris quas incolunt adque in eodem rure gignuntur.* There is a peculiar use of the word in Tert. *Spect.* 10 *Videmus igitur etiam artes eorum honoribus dicatas esse qui nomina incolunt auctorum earum.* (Cf. Hoppe p. 189, who translates "welche die Namen der Urheber tragen.") On the whole it seems best to retain the ms. reading, although no exact parallel can be quoted.

CARMEN

Debuit ingrato nullam dictare salutem
Laesus amor. Sed nulla iuvant convitia flentem—
Si modo flere vacet! Nam me magis inproba mortis
Fata vocant. Troiane nocens, haec dona remittis?
Quamvis saepe gravi conponam carmine fletus,
Plus habet ipse dolor; nec conplent verba dolorem
Quem sensus patientis habet, vel egena requiro

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6. ingrado nulla *A* mandare *C* 7. Lęsos *A* iubant *A* 8. inprobe *Riese* 10. graues conponant carmina *Higt* 11. Plus ualet iste *Higt* dolores *Higt* 12. pangentis *Baehrens* uel regna *A*, nec regna *Higt*, uel recta *Wernsdorf*, uel penna recusat *Baehrens*, vertenda *Riese*, vel egena *Traube*.

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6. *salutem* refers to the usual beginning of a letter, *salutem dicit*. Cf. Ov *Epist.* 13. 1 *Mittit, et optat amans quo mittitur ire salutem.*
dictare salutem means merely "write a letter." Owing to the fact that dictation was the usual custom, *dictare* came to mean nothing more than write. Cf. Juv. 6. 218

Non unus tibi rivalis dictabitur heres.

Suet. *Tit.* 6. 1 *Cum patris nomine et epistulas ipse dictaret et edicta conscriberet.* Sidon. *Epist.* 1. 7 *dominum dictasse profitebatur, se dictasse proclamat, quod ipse dictasset.* Numerous other examples are cited in the *Thesaurus*. This use became very common in the Middle Ages; see W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, pp. 266 ff.
7. *convitia*: a late spelling for *convicia*.
8. *Si..........vacet*: the *si* clause expresses a wish. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6. 187–8 *Si nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus*
Ostendat nemore in tanto.
flere vacet: cf. Ov. *Met.* 10. 387 *Tum denique flere vacavit.*
Nam: the connection of thought is: (But there is no time to weep,) for the cruel fate, etc.
magis: *potius*, or some expression meaning "on the other hand" might be expected here.

POEM

Injured love should have written no word of greeting to one who is ungrateful. But reproaches are no remedy for tears — if only there were time for tears! Instead the cruel fate of death summons me. Guilty Trojan, is this the gift you send me in return? However often I try to still my weeping by writing bitter verses, my very grief proves stronger; no words can satisfy the grief that my too patient heart endures,

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inproba: Riese changes the ms. reading to *inprobe,* apparently because the vocative occurs in 34 and 124. There is no reason for any change; *inproba* is an appropriate epithet to apply to *fata.*

mortis fata: cf. Cic. *Tim.* 40 *neque vos ulla mortis fata periment;* also the Homeric κῆρες θανάτοιο, *Il.* 2. 302, 834; 12. 326, etc.

9. *fata vocant*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 10. 471–2
et iam sua Turnum
Fata vocant.
Ov. *Epist.* 6. 28 *me quoque fata vocant.*
7. 1 *Sic ubi fata vocant.*
Sil. 16. 698–9 *Talibus adcensi patres, fatoquo vocante,*
Consulis adnuerunt dictis.

Voco and καλέω are used especially of the summons of death or of the dead; see Peerlkamp's note on Hor. *Carm.* 2. 20. 6, where examples are cited.

nocens is a favorite word of our author, cf. 24, 39, 99, 124, 132.

dona refers to Dido's death (*mortis fata*), as Wernsdorf points out, not to the sword with which she killed herself, as Burman took it. The same idea is repeated in 31 *Hanc reddis, Troiane, vicem?*

remittis: i. e. as a return for the kindness that I have shown you.

10. For the thought cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4. 11. 35-36 *Minuentur atrae carmine curae,* and Ov. *Trist.* 4. 10. 111–2 *Hic ego, finitimis quamvis circumsoner armis,*
Tristia quo possum carmine fata levo.

gravi applied to poetry generally means serious, or on a serious theme. Here it refers rather to the bitterness of Dido's feeling toward Aeneas.

12. *patientis* suggests too patient endurance. Cf. *Bell. Afr.* 31. 8 *patientem se timidumque hostium opinioni praebebat.* Nep. *Epam.* 7 *fuisse patientem suorumque iniurias ferentem civium.*

Quae maledicta dedi, miseris circumdata fatis.
Pendet amore domus, castus dolor auget amorem.
Dum studet iratas calamus celerare querellas,
Continuit dolor ipse manus, nec plura loquentem
Fassus amor, mentisque vias et verba ligavit.
A, quotiens revocata manus dubiumque pependit!
Quid factura fuit trepidanti pollice? Dextram
Torpor et ora ligat, dum dura vocabula formant,
Et minus explicitam condemnat littera vocem.

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13. quę *A* male victa *Higt* miseri *A* 14. Pendit *A*, Perdita *Maehly* domus *A*, dolor *Hoeufft* castus *A*, vastus *Baehrens*, clausus *Hoeufft*, cassum *Riese* augit *A* 15. studit irat$^{a}_{u}$s *A* animus *Burman* collorare *A*, celerare *Higt*, celare *Burman*, cumulare *Maehly* 16. manu *A* 17. meritisque *A*, mentisque *Higt*, metrisque *Wernsdorf* 18. quotiens *A* dubitansque *Maehly* 20. ira *A*, ora *Riese* firmat *A*, format *Schrader*, formant *scripsi* 21. comendat *A*, condemnat *Schrader* vocę *A*

12–13. The ms. reading is clearly corrupt. The emendation adopted in the text, that of Traube, is palaeographically easy, involving only one change, *regna* to *egena*. The thought (10–13) is: "I ought to feel only anger, but when I try to reproach you, grief overcomes me; I cannot now, even though I wish, bring myself to utter such bitter reproaches as I used at first, when my wrong was still fresh in my mind." The substitution of *regna* may be explained on the supposition that the scribe may have looked ahead to *domus* in 14, or that he was influenced by the *re* in *requiro*.

13. *maledicta*: such as those which Vergil makes her utter, *Aen.* 4. 365–387; and her dying prayer, 612–629.

14. This line has been generally regarded as corrupt, and has called forth a great variety of emendations. The ms. reading, however, may be explained so as to make good sense, and should therefore be retained. The difficulty is in *pendet.* Wernsdorf explains it as equivalent to *in ruinam pendet, pessum data est.* This is not an unnatural extension of the usual meaning of the word, and is paralleled by Lucan. 1. 24 *At nunc semirutis pendent quod moenia tectis.* It is used with the meaning which *labor* has in Verg. *Aen.* 4. 318 *miserere domus labentis,* which the poet doubtless had in mind. It is also supported by the couplet on Venus, *Anth.* 56

Uritur igne suo fumantibus Aetna cavernis.
Pendet amore Venus: uritur igne suo.

In the latter Riese explains *pendet* as = *suspensa est.*

or in my need I seek in vain the imprecations that I uttered when encompassed by an evil destiny. Because of love my house is tottering to its fall, my guiltless sorrow but increases my love. While my pen in eager haste was striving to give expression to angry complaints, grief itself stayed my hand, and love, permitting me to say no more, checked both the course of my thoughts and my words. Ah, how often was my hand recalled from its task, how often was it poised in doubt! What could it do with thumb atremble? Numbness binds fast hand and lips, while they are forming the harsh words, and what I write condemns the thought not yet expressed. The pen, guided

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castus dolor: i. e. grief for the ruin of her house, which is a pure and honorable grief.

16. *nec plura* etc.: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1. 385–6

nec plura querentem
Passa Venus medio sic interfata dolore est.

18. *A quotiens:* cf. Ov. *Trist.* 1. 3. 51–4

Ah, quotiens aliquo dixi properante, quid urges?
Vel quo festines ire, vel unde, vide.
Ah, quotiens certam me sum mentitus habere
Horam, praepositae quae foret apta viae.

dubium: adverbial; the adjective *dubia* might have been expected.

19. *trepidanti pollice*: cf. Ov. *Met.* 9. 520

Et meditata manu componit verba trementi.

pollex may be used for the fingers in general, as in Ov. *Amor.* 3. 6. 71

Sera tamen scindens inimico pollice crinem.

20. *Torpor . . . ligat*: cf. Ov. *Met.* 1. 548

Vix prece finita, torpor gravis alligat artus.

ora: the ms. *ira* gives a meaning exactly the opposite of what is required. It is *ira* that urges her to write the harsh words, *dolor* that checks her. *Ora* is supported by Ov. *Met.* 9. 514–5

Coget amor, potero; vel si pudor ora tenebit,
Littera celatos arcana fatebitur ignes.

Riese's change to *ora* necessitates the further change of the verb to *formant.*

21. *condemnat:* the ms. *commendat* cannot be justified. Schrader's correction is generally accepted. For the thought cf.

Ov. *Epist.* 13. 13 *Linguaque mandantis verba imperfecta reliquit.*
21. 25 *Sicut erant properans verba imperfecta relinquo.*
Met. 1. 526 *Fugit, cumque ipso verba imperfecta reliquit.*

Torsit iter male tractus apex, dubiaque remissus
Mente pudor, dum verba notat, dum nomina mandat
Flamma nocens, iram taedens; penitusque cucurrit
Sopitus per membra calor duroque medullas
Igne vorat. Nullus confessam culpet amantem.
Conubium nunc crimen erat? Male credula votis
Cuncta dedi (nec mira fides) sub lege mariti

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22. sapex *A* remissos *A*,repressus *Maehly* 24. irata redens *A*, iram(*vel* irae) taedens *McDaniel*, ridens *Wernsdorf*, furens *vel* uirens *Burman*, ardens *Birt*, redit *Klotz*, iterata redit *Petschenig*, iram *Hoeufft*, iram ridet *Baehrens*, iram tardens *Riese* poenitusq; *A* 25. duro *A*, diro *Baehrens* 26. forat *A*, uorat *Burman* confessus *A*, confessam *Burman* 27. conuuiū *A* nunc *A*,tunc α, non *Maehly* erit *Baehrens* 28. fide *A*, fides *Higt*

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22. *Torsit* seems to indicate a wavering, unsteady line. The phrase occurs in Stat. *Theb.* 11. 312–3

paulum si devius hostis
Torsit iter.

but in a different sense, meaning merely "turned aside."

iter: accusative of inner object.

male: owing to the trembling of her fingers.

apex: the *Thesaurus* gives no instance of the use of *apex* to mean pen. The word, however, indicates any pointed top or end, e. g. of a spear, cf. Sil. 1. 466–7

iacit igneus hastae
Dirum lumen apex.

Hence it might easily be applied to the stilus. *Apex* was also the name given to the sign placed over a long vowel to indicate its quantity, and from this in late Latin it came to mean a letter, then writing or anything written. The latter is probably the meaning in *Anth.* 107. 5 *apicum dat felle figuras,* though possibly it may there mean pen.

23. *notat*: Ovid frequently uses *noto* to mean write; cf.

Met. 9. 522–3 *Incipit, et dubitat; scribit, damnatque tabellas;*
Et notat et delet; mutat, culpatque, probatque.
Epist. 1. 62 *digitis charta notata meis.*
3. 2 *(littera) Vix bene barbarica Graeca notata manu.*
5. 22 *Et legor "Oenone" falce notata tua.*

mandat: cf. Ov. *Epist.* 17. 143-4

Nunc quoque, quod tacito mando mea verba libello,
Fungitur officio littera nostra novo.

and 13. 13 *Linguaque mandantis* (see note on 21).

with difficulty, traced its crooked way, and shame was banished from my doubtful heart, while love's baleful flame, growing weary of anger, wrote the words and dictated the expressions. The slumbering fire has sped through my inmost being, and with pitiless flame is consuming my very marrow. Let no one reproach one who admits her love.

⁎Was marriage then my sin? Too ready to believe your promises (nor is my trust surprising), I gave all, as the right of the

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24. *iram taedens*: I am indebted to Professor McDaniel for this reading. It requires only a very slight change (the omission of one letter) in the ms. reading; the unfamiliar and unclassical use of *taedens* may have been the cause of the corruption. The noun *taedium* is a favorite word with the author, cf. the refrain, 42, etc. In late Latin *taedeo* was used personally, and is found with the accusative as well as the genitive. Cf. Hier. *Vita Malchi* 7 *Coepi taedere captivitatis et monasterii cellulas quaerere.*
Lact. *Inst.* 4. 19. 4 *Exterrita est quae parit et taeduit animam.*
Alc. Avit. *Carm.* 4. 328–9
Nonne piger quisquam lucri taedensque laboris
Insanire putet?

25. Cf. Catull. 35. 14–5 *ex eo misellae Ignes interiorem edunt medullam.*
Verg. *Aen.* 4. 66–7 *Est mollis flamma medullas*
Interea, et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.
Sen. *Phaed.* 281–2 *Non habet latam data plaga frontem,*
Sed vorat tectas penitus medullas (of the wound of love).

26. *Nullus* etc.: this idea occurs repeatedly in Ovid, cf.
Epist. 4. 156 *Da veniam fassae duraque corda doma.*
16. 11–12 *Parce precor fasso, nec vultu cetera duro*
Perlege.
19. 4 *Da veniam fassae, non patienter amo.*
Pont. 4. 2. 23–4 *Da veniam fasso; studiis quoque frena remisi,*
Ducitur et digitis littera rara meis.
Met. 9. 560–1 *miserere fatentis amorem,*
Et non fassurae, nisi cogeret ultimus ardor.
Am. 2. 4. 3 *Confiteor—si quid prodest delicta fateri.*

27. *Conubium*: trisyllabic as in Verg. *Aen.* 1.73; cf. also Verg *Aen.* 4. 316
Per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos.
nunc has here a weakened force, merely indicating a transition; cf.
Plaut. *Stich.* 171 *Nunc si ridiculum hominem quaerat quispiam.*
Prop. 2. 3. 33 *Hac ego nunc mirer si flagret nostra iuventus?*
2. 26. 21–2 *Nunc admirentur quod tam mihi pulchra puella*
Serviat et tota dicar in urbe potens.
Hor. *Epist.* 1. 6. 17 and 2. 2. 76 *I nunc.*

Cuius et ipsa fui; numquam nec conscia reddent
Vota fidem, si talis erit non digna marito.
Hanc reddis, Troiane, vicem? Meus ista meretur
Affectus? Non ille torus, non conscia lecti
Sacramenta tenent? Totum pro crimine perdo
Quidquid amore dedi? Fatis licet, inprobe, tendas
Aemula regna meis, nihil est quod, perfide, iactes;
Fraude perit, non sorte, fides. Sed regna petebas
Debita, nec rerum poteras convincere sortem?

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30. erat *Maehly* 31. iste *A*, ista α 33. tent *A*, tenent α totum, pro-crimine *Higt* perdi *A*, perdo *Higt* 34. Quid *A;* quid *supra scripsit m. altera satis antiqua* tentes *Maehly.* 35. Aemula *A*, Romula α 37. conuertere *Baehrens*, mecum poteras coniungere *Riese*

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crimen: cf. Ov. *Epist.* 7. 164 *Quod crimen dicis praeter amasse meum?*
Male credula: "believing to my sorrow." Cf.

Ov. *Rem.* 451–2 *At tibi, qui dominae fueris male credita uni,*
Nunc saltem novus est inveniendus amor.

Fast. 2. 225 *male creditur hosti.*

Epist. 7. 54 *Expertae totiens tam male credis aquae?*

See Palmer's note on the latter passage: "*Male credere* is often used of trusting anybody or anything with untoward result."

29. *et* = too, i. e. in addition to all that I gave.
numquam nec: double negative for emphasis, which is found in early Latin, and quite frequently in later Latin from the time of Gellius and Apuleius. Instances of it occur even in classical writers; cf. Schmalz pp. 637–8.

Cf. Enn. *Trag.* 130 *Lapideo sunt corde multi, quos non miseret neminis.*
Cic. *Verr.* 2. 60 *Debebat Epicrates nummum nullum nemini.*
Catull. 48. 4 *Nec numquam videar satur futurus.*
76. 3–4 *Nec sanctum violasse fidem nec foedere nullo*
Divom ad fallendos numine abusum homines.
Petron. 42 *Neminem nihil boni facere oportet.* (This probably represents the language of the uneducated.)

For further examples see G. Friedrich on Catull. 48. 4.
conscia vota are vows that lovers know along with each other, the knowledge of which they share, i. e. mutual.
reddent . . . fidem: cf. Cic. *Cat.* 3. 2. 4 *auribus vestris . . . minorem fidem faceret oratio mea.*

30. *talis*: sc. *fides.* Or possibly it means " a woman such as I."

31. Cf. Ov. *Am.* 1. 6. 23 *Redde vicem meritis.*

husband to whom I too belonged. Never will mutual vows gain credence, if such faith as mine is not worthy of a husband's love. Trojan, is this the return you make? Is this what my love deserves? Does the remembrance of our marriage couch not hold you, nor the oaths of fidelity that we there exchanged? As if guilty of crime do I lose all that I gave for love?

Grant that it is by the decrees of fate, base wretch, that you are seeking a kingdom that will rival mine, there is no reason, traitor, for your reiterating this; by treachery, not by fate, is your honor lost. But (you say) you were seeking the kingdom that was rightfully yours, you could not overcome

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32. *conscia lecti*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 167–8 *conscius aether conubii* (or *conubiis* according to another reading).
Mart. 14. 39 *Dulcis conscia lectuli lucerna,*
Quidquid vis facias licet, tacebo.

32–33. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 307–8
Nec te noster amor, nec te data dextera quondam,
Nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?
The whole series of questions in this passage is modeled on Dido's appeal to Aeneas in Verg. *Aen.* 4. 305–330.

33. *Sacramenta* seems to be used, as Wernsdorf says, with special reference to marriage, as in late and ecclesiastical Latin. Cf. Mart. Cap. 2. 117 *sonus . . . quem Musarum convenientium chorus impendens nuptialibus sacramentis concinebat.* The word properly means something which is set apart as sacred, also, in the active sense, something which sets apart; the latter gives its commonest meaning in classical Latin, the oath of allegiance taken by a soldier. From this it may be used to mean any solemn oath or pledge. By Christian writers it is used to translate the Greek μυστήριον, and applied to the sacraments of the church.

34. *inprobe*: Vergil makes Dido address Aeneas with this epithet (*Aen.* 4. 386), also with *perfide* (*Aen.* 4. 366).
tendes with accusative of limit of motion = "make your way to," "go to," as in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 553–4
Si datur Italiam sociis et rege recepto
Tendere
and 6. 696 *haec limina tendere adegit.*

35. *nihil est quod* occurs again in 39 and 117. In 39 it is used in a somewhat different sense, and is followed by the indicative.

36–37. *Sed regna* etc.: this refers to Aeneas' defense of his conduct, ending with *Italiam non sponte sequor* (Verg. *Aen.* 4. 333–361) and Dido's scornful reply (376–380). Cf. Ov. *Epist.* 7. 139
"Sed iubet ire deus". Vellem vetuisset adire.

Si datur ire, placet; nam quod fugis unde recursus,
Vota nocentis habes. Nihil est quod dura querellis
Verba fidemque voco. Quisquis mea vulnera deflet,
Invidiam fecisse neget; trahit omnia casus.
Dum sortem natura rapit, sua taedia solus
Fallere nescit amor. Reparatum Cynthia format

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38. quod *A*, quo *α*, quonam *vel* iam quo *Higt*, quid *Petschenig* 41. necat *corr. ex.* necant *A*, neget *Schrader*, negat *Wernsdorf* trai *A* 42. sorte *A* capit *Petschenig*, parit *Baehrens* sua . . . amor *rubris litteris, ut intercalaria plerumque, A* 43. Reparato *Baehrens* quintia *A, corr. a*

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37. *convincere*: cf. *Anth.* 118. 3

Sed quia fas nulli humanam vincere sortem.

Ov. *Met.* 2. 617–8 *seraque ope vincere fata Nititur.*

Ad Liv. 234 *Non tibi, non ullis, vincere fata datur.*

The compound has the sense of the simple verb *vincere,* a use which is one of the characteristics of late Latin. There is no reason for Baehrens' change of *convincere* to *convertere,* nor for Riese's reading *mecum . . . coniungere.*

38. *placet*: sc. *mihi.*

38–41. A difficult passage. Wernsdorf explains *vota nocentis* as *propositum nocendi. Nam quod . . . habes* is interpreted by Baehrens thus: "Quod eo fugis unde facile huc redire potes, ideo fraudem adhibes;" and by Reise: "Quod ad me redire poteris, ego 'nocens' votis meis te ire iubeo." The latter gives the most satisfactory sense, and is adopted in the translation above. *Nocentis* refers to Dido; she is "*nocens*" as a result of her wrongs. The *vota nocentis* are wishes such as those given by Vergil *Aen.* 4. 381–4

I, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas;
Spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,
Supplicia hausurum scopulis, et nomine Dido
Saepe vocaturum.

The phrase *vota nocentis* occurs again in 99.

The general sense of the passage is as follows: "If your departure were really the will of the gods, I would offer no objection; but you are only making their commands an excuse; the fact that return is possible shows that the separation need not be final unless you wish it. But my reproaches are useless; after all it is not your guilt that is the cause of my suffering, but chance, which controls everything."

the destiny that controls all things. If it is fated that you go, I acquiesce; for it is because you flee to a place from which return is possible, that you carry with you the curses of one who would do you harm. But it is of no avail that in my complaints I call your words and your faithlessness cruel. Let all who weep for my wrongs deny that hatred was their cause; chance draws all things in its train.

While nature hastens on its appointed course, love alone cannot beguile its own weariness. Cynthia renews her splendor

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39. *Nihil est* etc.: the abrupt change of thought represents the sudden variation of Dido's mood as she wavers between anger and resignation; cf. 6–26 and 125.

    dura: predicate adjective with both *verba* and *fidem*. Hence *fidem* = lack of faith.

    querellis: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 360
    Desine meque tuis incendere teque querellis.

41. *Invidiam*: subject of *fecisse*.

    trahit omnia casus: cf. Cic. *Epist.* 4. 12. 1 *quoniam casus et natura in nobis dominatur.*
    Verg. *Aen.* 9. 723 *qui casus agit res.*
    Ov. *Met.* 7. 815 and *Trist.* 2. 341 *me mea fata trahebant.*
    Ars 3. 425 *Casus ubique valet.*
    Anth. 38. 1 *Omnia casus agit.*
    For the Epicurean sentiment cf. 121–2.

42. *taedia*: cf. Ov. *Epist.* 3. 139
    Aut si versus amor tuus est in taedia nostri.

42–43. *sua . . . amor*: this refrain is repeated nine times, marking off the different aspects of nature whose changes are contrasted with the unchanging grief of love. The refrain probably originated among the artificialities of Alexandrian poetry. It was used by Theocritus (1 and 2), and from him was adopted by Vergil in *Ecl.* 8. Catullus employs it in three poems (61, 62, 64), and Ovid twice makes use of it (*Epist.* 9, *Am.* 1. 6). It is also found in the *Pervigilium Veneris,* in Nemesianus (*Ecl.* 4), and in Calpurnius Siculus (*Ecl.* 11). None of these shows the refrain divided between two lines, as here.

43. *Fallere*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 85 *infandum si fallere possit amorem.*
    Ov. *Trist.* 3. 2. 16 *Fallebat curas aegraque corda labor.*

    Reparatum: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4. 7. 13
    Damna tamen celeres reparant caelestia lunae.
    Ov. *Met.* 1. 11 *Nec nova crescendo reparabat cornua Phoebe.*
    The participle is used proleptically—"forms so that it is renewed."

Lucis honore iubar curvatis cornibus arcus,
Quod de fratre rubet; cessurus lege sorori
Consumit sua iura dies; sic continet orbem.
Dum recipit natura vicem, sua taedia solus
Fallere nescit amor. Mersum pallentibus umbris
Circumdat nox atra diem fruiturque tenebras

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44. arcus *A*, ardens *Maehly*, altum *Baehrens* 45. Quod *A*, Quum *Higt*
47. Du *A* 49. tenebras *A*, tenebris α, tenebrans *Baehrens*

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44. *arcus*: Riese marks this word with a dagger as not genuine, and emendations are proposed by Maehly and Baehrens. Its use, however, can be justified. Though *arcus* is apparently not elsewhere used of the moon, *cornua* is regularly applied both to the moon and to a bow. Cynthia, the moon goddess, was represented as a huntress armed with the bow; thus we have here a confusion between the goddess drawing her bow, and the moon itself gradually forming a complete circle as it reaches its fulness. Cf. Sen. *Med.* 97-8

Cum Phoebe solidum lumine non suo
Orbem circuitis cornibus alligat.

45. *Quod* refers to *iubar*.

rubet: a general term for brightness, not referring to the special redness of the moon at certain seasons; so also in Prop. 1. 10. 8 *Et mediis caelo Luna ruberet equis.* Hor. *Carm.* 2. 11. 10–11 *Neque uno Luna rubens nitet Voltu.*

45–46. *cessurus . . . dies*: cf. Catull. 5. 4–6

Soles occidere et redire possunt;
Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.

46. *sic*: "on this condition," referring to *cessurus lege sorori.*

continet: "encloses, surrounds"; cf. Enn. *Trag.* 237–8

Iuppiter, tuque summe Sol, qui res omnis spicis,
Quique tuo cum lumine mare, terram. caelum contines.

The word is similarly used with reference to *aether* by Pacuv. *Trag.* 86 *quod complexu continet terram,* and by Lucr. 5. 318–9 *quod omnem Continet amplexu terram.*

with the glory of light, and curves the horns of her bow, glowing with brightness borrowed from her brother. The god of day, destined by law to yield in turn to his sister, uses up his privileges; thus he encompasses the earth with light. While nature renews her changes, love alone cannot beguile its own weariness.

Black night envelopes the day, plunging it in dim shadows, and enjoys the darkness in accordance with the law of the

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46–47. Riese and other editors punctuate with a period after *dies*, making *sic . . . vicem* one sentence. The *dum* clause, however, gives better sense if taken with what follows, and the introduction of the refrain in this way is parallel with 42.

48. *Mersum*: proleptic, cf. *reparatum*, v. 43. *Mergo* is used of the sun disappearing beneath the horizon. Cf. Sen. *Thyest.* 776–7

O Phoebe patiens, fugeris retro licet,
Medioque ruptum merseris caelo diem.

Lucan. 4. 282 *Substituit merso dum nox sua lumina Phoebo.*
pallentibus umbris suggests the pale shades of the dead, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 26 *pallentes umbras Erebi.* Possibly the writer has in mind the voyage of the sun-god through the realm of the dead beneath the earth.

49. *tenebras*, the ms. reading, has been changed to the ablative by most editors. The accusative should be kept, for the deponent verbs which take the ablative in classical Latin are found with the accusative in early and late Latin. (See Lane, *Lat. Gram.* § 1380, Schmalz p. 382.) E. g.

Cato *Agr.* 149. 1 *pabulum frui occipito.*
Lucr. 3. 940 *ea quae fructus cumque es, periere profusa.*
Ter. *Haut.* 401 *meo modo ingenium frui.*
Apul. *Met.* 8. 12 *nuptias non frueris.*
Apol. 72 *prospectum maris me esse fruiturum.*
Tert. *Virg. Vel.* 17 *dimidiam frui lucem.*
Patient. 1 *super eo quod frui non datur.*

Lege poli, peraguntque micantia sidera cursus.
Navifragi tacet unda salis, nec murmurat auster,
Nec flexum quatit aura nemus. Sua taedia solus
Fallere nescit amor. Pinnis modo garrula pendens
Iam philomela tacet damno male victa pudoris,

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51. Nauifrage *A*, *corr. a* sali *Burman* 52. Ne *A* 53. pinnis (primis α) garulā mane pendens *A*, modo *scripsi*, ramis male garrula pendens *Burman*, pinnis ad germina tendens *Baehrens*, pinnas curvamine pandens *Traube* 54. filomela *A* picta *A*, victa *Burman*

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50. Riese supposes a lacuna between 50 and 51, containing the end of the comparison between day and night, and the beginning of one between calm and storm. There is no necessity for this; peace and quiet are regarded as an essential element of night, as in Vergil's description (*Aen.* 4. 522–8) which this passage imitates. Other aspects of night are dealt with in the next two "stanzas."
micantia is regularly used of the stars, e. g. Lucr. 5. 1205, Hor. *Carm.* 1. 12. 46, Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 125, *Oed.* 46, etc.

51. *Navifragi*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3. 553 *navifragum Scylaceum,* and Ov. *Met.* 14. 6. *navifragum fretum.*

52. *flexum*: proleptic, cf. *reparatum,* 43, and *mersum,* 48.

53. The unmetrical ms. reading has caused great difficulty. Riese adopts the change due to Burman, explaining *male garrula* as = *iam non garula.* It is true that *male* with certain adjectives practically = *non,* but only with adjectives whose meaning is such that the qualifying adverb "badly" would negative their meaning, as is the case with *sanus, gratus, fidus.* "Badly garrulous," however, is not equivalent to "silent."
Further, *pinnis* has to be changed to *ramis* to fit the context. Other emendations proposed by Baehrens and Traube have still less probability.

It seems possible to correct the line with a slighter change than any of the above. The translation of the line offers no difficulty as the ms. reads; some adverb of time is expected in contrast with *iam* in the next line. When *mane* and *garrula* are transposed, the only difficulty remaining is the scansion of *mane.* I would substitute *modo* for the unmetrical *mane.* *Modo* is found in 112 and 135 in the sense of *lately.* *Mane* may have found its way into the text as a gloss; this would account for its

heavens; the twinkling stars complete their courses. The waves of the shipwrecking sea are still, the south wind makes no murmur, no breeze bends and sways the woods. Love alone cannot beguile its own weariness.

The nightingale, but lately singing, poised on her wings, now is silent, utterly overcome by the loss of her chastity; sheltering in her embrace her twittering nestlings near the tree-top,

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being misplaced in the line.

Another way of solving the difficulty is to keep *mane*, scanning it with the *a* short, and assuming that the poet has made a mistake in the quantity. This explanation is by no means impossible in a work as late as this; it would be, however, the only wrong quantity in the poem.

pinnis pendere occurs also in Ovid, cf.

Met. 6. 667–8 *Corpora Cecropidum pinnis pendere putares;*
Pendebant pinnis.

Met. 7. 379 *Factus olor niveis pendebat in aera pinnis.*

garrulus is frequently used of birds, e. g. (of the nightingale) Mart. 14. 75

Flet Philomela nefas incesti Tereos, et quae
Muta puella fuit, garrula fertur avis.

Plin. *Nat.* 10. 43. 81 *Lusciniis diebus ac noctibus continuis quindecim garrulus sine intermissu cantus.*

The nightingale was regarded by the Greeks and Romans as a harbinger of dawn and a singer by day as well as by night. For complete discussion, with many quotations, see E. W. Martin, *Birds of the Latin Poets*, pp. 125–142 and 236–244; E. W. Fay, *Class. Rev.* 1904 pp. 303 ff., and a series of articles by E. H. Barker, *Class. Jour.* 27. p. 92, 29. p. 255, 30. pp. 180 and 341.

54. *damno pudoris*: cf.

Ov. *Ars* 1. 100 *Ille locus casti damna pudoris habet.*

Claud. 15. 188 *damna pudoris turpia.*

Apul. *Met.* 9. 27 *damno pudicitiae commotus.*

Amplexuque fovens querulos sub culmine nidos
Pensat amore nefas, miserasque alitura querellas
Nocte premit quod luce dolet. Sua taedia solus
Fallere nescit amor. Nunc iam bene iunctus amantem
Ardor alit thalamique fidem sua pignera conplent,
Coniunx laeta viro, felix uxore maritus.
Vota recenset amor secretaque dulcia; somnus
Concordat cum nocte torum. Sua taedia solus
Fallere nescit amor. Fecundo semine rerum

---

55. Amplexusque *A, corr.* α nidi *Burman,* natos *Maehly* 57. *fortasse,* Nocte gemit *Riese* 58. amantes *Maehly* 59. talamiq; *A* pigne$^{a}_{r}$ *A m. pr.* 60. uxores maritos *A, corr. a* 61. recens et *m. rec. in A disiunxit,* repensat *Petschenig* 62. Consociat *Maehly* 63. Fallerere *A*

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55. *nidos*: nestlings. Cf.

Verg. *Aen.* 5. 214 *Cui domus et dulces latebroso in pumice nidi.*
12.475 *Pabula parva legens, nidisque loquacibus escas.*
Georg. 4.17 *Ore ferunt dulcem nidis immitibus escam.*
Ov. *Medic.* 77 *Addita de querulo volucrum medicamina nido.*
Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 148–9 *querulos inter nidos*
Thracia paelex.

culmine: the top of a tree. Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7. 800 *iam frondea nutant culmina* and Sil. 5. 514 (*Vulcanus aesculi*) *culmina torret.*

56. *Pensat*: cf. Ov. *Epist.* 2. 143 *Stat nece matura tenerum pensare pudorem.*

amore: i. e. her love for her young.

alitura: the author shows marked fondness for the future participle, cf. *cessurus*, 45, and *peritura*, 74 and 87.

querellas: used here with reference to the story of Philomela's metamorphosis, as also in

Verg. *Georg.* 4. 511–2 *Qualis populea maerens Philomela sub umbra*
Amissos queritur fetus.
Hor. *Carm.* 4. 12. 5–6 *Nidum ponit Ityn flebiliter gemens*
Infelix avis.
Ov. *Fast.* 4. 481–2 *Quaecumque ingreditur miseris loca cuncta querellis*
Implet, ut amissum cum gemit ales Ityn.

Querella and the related words, however, are often used of the song of birds in general. Cf. *querulos*, 55, and

Hor. *Epod.* 2. 26 *Queruntur in silvis aves.*
Ov. *Am.* 3. 1. 4 *Et latere ex omni dulce queruntur aves.*

she finds in love the compensation for her wrong, and though she will again cherish her sorrowful complaints, she now at night represses the laments which she utters in the day. Love alone cannot beguile its own weariness.

Now the ardor of well-mated love fosters the lover's affection, and the fidelity of the marriage chamber is made perfect by those who pledge it, the wife rejoicing in her husband, the husband happy in his wife. Love reviews its desires and secret joys; sleep and night complete their wedded harmony. Love alone cannot beguile its own weariness.

Cf. Porphyrio's scholium on Hor. *Epod.* 2. 26 *"Queruntur," inquit, quoniam veteres omnium animalium voces praeterquam hominum "querellas" dicebant.* For a discussion of this use of *queror* see T. Frank, *American Journal of Philology* 34, p. 322.

58. *iunctus*: transferred epithet. Cf. Ov. *Epist.* 13. 117 *Quando erit ut lecto mecum bene iunctus in uno.*

amantem: there is no need of Maehly's somewhat prosaic change to the plural.

59. *pignera*: cf. 109, where the form *pignore* is used.

60. Cf. Ov. *Met.* 7. 799 *Coniuge eram felix, felix erat illa marito. Coniunx* and *maritus* are in apposition with *pignora.* The emphasis is on the adjectives *laeta* and *felix* rather than on the nouns, i. e. the fact that husband and wife rejoice in each other is a pledge that they will be faithful to each other.

62. *Concordat*: cf. *Pervig. Ven.* 3 *Vere concordant amores.*
Papin. Dig. 48. 5. 12 *bene concordatum matrimonium.*
Concordo is more commonly intransitive, but the *Thesaurus* cites a number of instances of its transitive use, as here.

63. *semine rerum*: cf. Lucr. 1. 58–60

Quae (primordia) nos materiem et genitalia corpora rebus
Reddunda in ratione vocare et semine rerum
Appellare suemus.

Ov. *Met.* 1. 419 *fecundaque semina rerum.*
This is one of the expressions that show the influence of Epicureanism on our author; cf. 41 and 121–2.

Mutat terra vices et alumni temporis auras
Laeta vocat; spisso revirescit gramine campus
Et vitreas ligat herba comas nec fallit aristas
Proventu meliore dies. Sua taedia solus
Fallere nescit amor. Fessus iuga solvit arator
Et noctem per vota capit; reparare labores
Novit grata quies, nec cessat reddere vires
Infusus per membra sopor rurisque ministram
Ruricolis dat semper opem. Sua taedia solus
Fallere nescit amor. Reparant sua litora ponti

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64. autumni *A*, alumni *Baehrens*, uerni *Heinse* 65. reuiuescit *A*, reuiuiscit *a α*, reuirescit *Burman* cāpos *A*, *corr. a* 66. uirides *Burman* liga^{t} erba *A*, leuat (*vel* rigat) *Higt*, agit *Maehly* fallid *A* aristas *A*, aristae *Wernsdorf*, arista *Baehrens* 67. Prouentum . . . die *A*, Prouentu . . . dies *Burman*, Prouentus . . . die *Wernsdorf*, Prouentum . . . fide *Baehrens* 68. Fallerere *A* soluet *A* 69. capit *A*, rapit *Burman*, cupit *Maehly* labori *Schrader* 70. Non uibrata quies *A*, *corr. a* necessat *A* 71. rurisq; *A*, noctisque *volgo*, lucisque *Baehrens* ministra *Oudendorp*, noctique ministrans *Maehly* 73. sua *A*, sub *Baehrens* litura *A*

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64. *Mutat terra vices*: taken from Hor. *Carm.* 4. 7. 3. Cf. also 65–66 with 1–2 of the same ode:

Diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis,
Arboribusque comae.

See note on 43, where this ode of Horace was imitated.

alumni temporis = spring. According to the *Thesaurus*, *alumnus* with active meaning is quite common, e. g.

Mart. 12. 60 .1 *Martis alumne dies.*

Auson. 381. 7–8 *Hoc numero mensisque Numae redit, autumnique*
Principium referens Bacchi September alumnus.

Isid. *Orig.* 10. 3 *et qui alit et alitur alumnus dici potest.*

alumni . . . auras: cf. Lucr. 1. 10–11
Nam simul ac species patefactast verna diei,
Et reserata viget genitalibus aura favoni.

66. *vitreas . . . comas*: of the grain bound into sheaves. *Vitreas* refers to the brilliant semi-transparent appearance of the ripe grain. This adjective is frequently applied to water, in the sense of clear or shining. Both *herba* and *coma* are often used of grain, e. g.

Verg. *Georg.* 1. 134 *sulcis frumenti quaereret herbam.*

Prop. 4. 2. 14 *Et coma lactenti spicea fruge tumet.*

By the life-giving principle of nature earth brings her changes and gladly summons the breezes of the fostering season; the fields are clothed again with the thick verdure of grass, the grain binds its shining tresses, and the advancing season does not cheat the ears of grain of their promise of a better harvest. Love alone cannot beguile its own weariness.

The weary plowman unfastens the yoke, and welcomes the night in answer to his prayers; grateful rest has power to refresh his toil, sleep, pervading his limbs, is not slow to restore his energy, and at all times brings to husbandmen strength to care for their fields. Love alone cannot beguile its own weariness.

The seas by their incoming tides restore their shores

Ov. *Fast.* 3. 854 *Sustulerat nullas, ut solet, herba comas.*
Am. 3. 10. 11–12 *Prima Ceres docuit turgescere semen in agris,*
Falce coloratas subsecuitque comas.
Met. 5. 482 *Primis segetes moriuntur in herbis.*

67. *Proventu:* ablative of separation, as with verbs of depriving.
dies: in the general sense of a period of time.

68. *Fessus* etc.: cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 4. 41
Robustus quoque iam tauris iuga solvet arator.

69. *noctem capit* seems to be a reminiscence of Verg. *Aen.* 4. 529–31
neque umquam
Solvitur in somnos, oculisve aut pectore noctem
Accipit.

Here *capit* is somewhat stronger than *receives* or *accepts*, having rather the force of *captat*; literally, "grasps at the night through prayers."
reparare labores: cf. Ov. *Met.* 11. 623–5
Somne, quies rerum, placidissime, Somne, deorum,
Pax animi, quem cura fugit, qui corda diurnis
Fessa ministeriis mulces reparasque labori.

71. *ruris*: objective genitive with the adjective *ministram*: "ministering to the country"; Riese translates it "ackerpflegende Kraft" (*Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik* 121, p. 262).

Successu post damna suo, perituraque ludunt
Incrementa maris dubii, regit aequora fluctus
Lite sua, vicibusque suis quod deperit auget.
Officiis natura vacat. Sua taedia solus
Fallere nescit amor . . . .
. . . . . . gemmatis roscida verni
Rident prata rosis et floribus arva tumescunt.
Pictus ager sub flore latet, dat fronde coronas
Lascivis natura rosis. Sua taedia solus
Fallere nescit amor. Nec grata silentia noctis
Nec somni pia dona placent, nec munera lucis

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74. Successus per damna suos *A*, post *Burman*, Successu *et* suo *Riese* 75. regunt ęquara *A*, *corr. a* fluxus *Higt* 76. Lite *A*, Lege *Wernsdorf* augens *Baehrens* 77. uacans *Higt* 78. Discussis imbribus atra Cum requievit hiems *add. L. Mueller inter* amor *et* gemmatis uesui *A*, verni *Riese*, Vesbi *Burman*, uisu *vel* ubiuis *Wernsdorf*, veris *Birt* 79. tumescit *A* 80. fronte *α* coronę *A*, coronas *α* 82. ne grada *A*, *corr. a*

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74. Riese's emendation has been adopted in the text as the best correction of this corrupt line.
Successu = "the rising tide." The word is used, though not very commonly, in its literal sense of "advance" or "approach," therefore may naturally be applied to the tide. *Accessus* is used of the tide, cf. Cic. *Div.* 2. 34 *aestibus . . . quorum accessus et recessus lunae motu gubernantur.*
For *damna* and *incrementa* referring to the tide cf. Sen. *Dial.* 12. 9. 6 *modo allevans nos subitis incrementis, modo maioribus damnis deferens.*
75. *fluctus* must here mean "tide."
76. *Lite*: most editors have adopted Wernsdorf's emendation, *lege*. It seems quite possible, however, to keep the ms. reading, making it refer to the conflict of the alternate ebb and flow; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 1. 107–8

Ut semel haec rerum secessit lite suarum,
Inque novas abiit massa soluta domos.

77. *Officiis:* dative.
78. One line is lacking to the number elsewhere found between the refrains; also as the text stands in the ms., this "stanza" lacks the contrast which is brought out in all the others. The line supplied by L. Müller (p. 584) gives the sense that is evidently required. Wernsdorf and Baehrens place the lacuna after 80, and Birt after 79.

again after their losses, the rising waves of the ever changing ocean play along the shore, though destined to recede, the tide rules the deep by its own alternation, and in due succession restores all that is lost. Nature has time to fufill her tasks. Love alone cannot beguile its own weariness . . . .
the dewy meadows in springtime smile with jewelled roses, and the fields burst into bloom. The ground is hidden beneath an embroidery of flowers, and nature, with a riotous abundance of roses, provides leafy garlands. Love alone cannot beguile its own weariness.

But neither the welcome silence of night nor the blessed boon of sleep brings any relief, nor does love enjoy the gifts of

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gemmatis: bejewelled with drops of dew; suggested by *roscida*.
Cf. Lucr. 2. 319 *Invitant herbae gemmantes rore recenti.*
Culex 70–71 *Florida cum tellus gemmantes picta per herbas*
Vere notat dubiis distincta coloribus arva.
verni: the ms. reading *Vesui* (for *Vesuvi*) is hardly possible. Aside from the anachronism of making Dido mention a place in Italy, as Wernsdorf points out, there is no reason for the choice of this particular locality. Wernsdorf's change to *visu* is easy palaeographically, but there is no point in the use of this word. Riese's *verni* or Birt's *veris* makes much better sense.

79. For *rideo* used metaphorically cf.
Catull. 64. 284 *Quo permulsa domus iucundo risit odore.*
Verg. *Ecl.* 4. 20 *Mixtaque ridenti colocasia fundet acantho.*
Ov. *Met.* 15. 204–5 *florumque coloribus almus Ridet ager.*

80. *Pictus*: cf. Lucr. 5. 1395–6
Praesertim cum tempestas ridebat et anni
Tempora pingebant viridantis floribus herbas.
and *Culex* 70–71, cited on 78.
fronde coronas: cf. Lucr. 1. 118 *perenni fronde coronam.*
fronde is ablative of material, which is rare without a limiting adjective; see Lane § 1313; but cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5. 663 *pictas abiete puppis.*

81. *Lascivis*: "luxuriant;" cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 36. 18–20
nec Damalis novo
Divelletur adultero
Lascivis hederis ambitiosior.
This passage is not quite parallel, for *lascivis* has a more figurative meaning than in the text.

83. *pia:* because sleep is a gift of the gods; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2. 269 (*quies*) *dono divom gratissima serpit.*

Carpit et indutias fugientis non capit anni;
Sed sua victus amor tantummodo vulnera pascit
Inter mille dolos totidemque piacula fraudis.
Vota queror: vellem tacitis peritura querellis
Flere domo, vellem tacitos consumere fletus.
Sed negat ipse dolor quod iam pudor ante negavit;
Scribere iussit amor miseram me, cuius honestam
Fecit culpa fidem. Poteram dispergere ponto

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85. poscit *A, corr. a* 86. toditemq; *A* piacula *A*, pericula *Schrader* 87. Vota *A*, Nota *volgo* tacitis *A*, placidis *α*, placitis *Oudendorp*, tacita *Traube* 88. tacit$^{o}_{u}$s umere *A*, consumere *Burman*, tacitos profundere *α*, iam tabida fundere *Riese*, Cocyto fundere *Traube* 91. culpam *A*, culpam idem *Winterfeld*

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84. *Carpit*: sc. *amor*, from the refrain, 82. Cf.
Verg. *Aen.* 4. 522–3 *placidum carpebant fessa soporem*
Corpora.
4. 555 *carpebat somnos.*
7. 414 *Iam mediam nigra carpebat nocte quietem.*

indutias: trisyllabic; unless *u* is regarded as short; see note on *mane*, 53.

85. *sua*: equivalent to subjective genitive—"inflicted by itself."
vulnera pascit: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 2 *vulnus alit venis.*

86. *piacula* has generally been changed to *pericula*; but it may be explained as sufferings that are an expiation of Dido's faithlessness to her husband's memory, though this aspect of her grief is not brought out elsewhere in the poem.

87. *Vota* seems to be used as accusative of inner object with *queror*, though it is a striking instance of that construction. Cf. 137 *mala vota cupis* and Ov. *Met.* 9. 303–4 *moturaque duras*
Verba queror silices.

88. *domo*: "at home", i. e. in private, to myself. *Domo* for *domi*, though rare, is found even in classical writers, e. g. Cic. *Clu.* 27, Varro *Rust.* 1. 8. 2, Nep. *Epam.* 10. 3, Suet. *Caes.* 20. 1, Apul. *Apol.* 541.

light nor take any respite throughout the fleeting year; but baffled in its hopes it only keeps alive its own wounds, in the midst of a thousand deceits and as many atonements for faithlessness.

I break forth into complaining wishes: I would rather weep at home, doomed to perish with complaints unuttered, I would rather exhaust my sorrow in silence. But grief itself denies me what shame before denied. Love has bidden me write, hapless that I am, who by my own fault have made an honorable compact.

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tacitos consumere: Burman's correction, to which the ms. seems to point. For *consumere* cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2. 64 *Consumptis enim lacrimis tamen infixus animo haeret dolor.*

Sen. *Dial.* 6. 8. 1 *Dolorem dies longa consumit.*

89. *quod pudor negavit*: i. e. the comfort of the free expression of her feelings, cf. 6 and 22–3. *Pudor* at first kept her from making any appeal; now *dolor* does not allow her the solace of keeping her suffering to herself.

90. *Scribere iussit amor:* cf. Ov. *Epist.* 4. 10

Dicere quae puduit, scribere iussit amor,

and 20. 230 *Haec tibi me vigilem scribere iussit amor.*

For *pudor* and *amor* opposed to each other cf.

Ov. *Am.* 3. 10. 28–9 *Hinc pudor, ex illa parte trahebat amor;*
Victus amore pudor.

Met. 9. 514–5 *Coget amor, potero; vel si pudor ora tenebit,*
Littera celatos arcana fatebitur ignes.

miseram me: a common expression in Vergil, e. g.
Georg. 4. 494 *"Quis et me" inquit "miseram et te perdidit?"*
Ecl. 2. 58 *Quid volui misero mihi!*
Aen. 2. 70 *Quid iam misero mihi denique restat?*
See also *Aen.* 4. 315, 420; 9. 285; 10. 849.

91. *culpa*: nominative; literally "whose fault has made," etc. The word refers to Dido's love, which restrains her from doing Aeneas any harm. The expression is thus interpreted by Wernsdorf: "Miseram me, quae mea culpa honestum hospitii et coniugii foedus cum Aenea feci, cuius fide nunc impedior quominus nefas aliquod in eum cogitare et me ulcisci possim."

Poteram: i. e. "I was angry enough to." Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 600–602
Non potui abreptum divellere corpus et undis
Spargere, non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro
Ascanium patriisque epulandum ponere mensis?

Membra manusque tuas miseramque tumentibus undis
Praecipitare diem, poteram crescentis Iuli
Rumpere fata manu parvumque resolvere corpus
Morte gravi mersumque in viscera figere ferrum
Vel dare membra feris; sed nostro pectore pulsum
Cessit amore nefas, et honesta pericula passus
Corda ligavit amor. Quis tantum in hospite vellet
Hoc audere nefas? Quis vota nocentis habere?
Nullus amor sub fraude latet. Cui digna rependes,

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92. seramque *Burman* 94. fatā *A* 95. Moxte *A, corr. Heinse* 96. mensa *A*, membra *a* 97. Crescit *A*, Cessit *Schrader, Higt* honestas *A, corr. a* 98. ligat *A*, ligavit *vulgo*, liquauit *Maehly*, fatigat *Baehrens* hospide uellit *A* 99. audire *A* 100. laude *A*, corde *α*, labe *Baehrens*, fraude *Riese* 100, 105, 111, 116. digne *A, corr. a*

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92. *manus* seems to be added to *membra* only to make an alliterative phrase, though it may have been suggested by Ovid's account of the killing o Absyrtus by Medea, where the hands are mentioned particularly; cf *Trist.* 3. 9. 27–30

Atque ita divellit, divulsaque membra per agros
Dissipat, in multis invenienda locis;
Neu pater ignoret, scopulo proponit in alto
Pallentesque manus, sanguineumque caput.

miseram diem: day of death. *Miser* is found in inscriptions referring to the dead. Cf. Isid. *Orig.* 10. 173 *Miser—secundum autem Ciceronem proprie mortuus, qui in Tusculanis miseros mortuos vocat, propter quod iam amiserunt vitam.* Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 9.

93. *Praecipitare*: cf. Quint. *Decl.* 4. 10 *Miraris quod suprema mea ipse praecipitem.*
Lucan. 7. 51–2 *sua quisque ac publica fata Praecipitare cupit.*
crescentis: cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 7. 25 *hedera crescentem ornate poetam.*
Verg. *Aen* 4. 274 *Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli.*
Ov. *Met.* 14. 583 *opibus crescentis Iuli.*

94. *Rumpere fata:* break off the thread of life spun by the Fates.
Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 631 *Invisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem.*
Sil. 6. 510–11 *vel si stat rumpere vitam*
In patria moriamur.
7. 33 *Hic ardens extrema malis et rumpere vitam.*
2. 597–8 *abrumpere vitam . . . . quaerunt.*
(In Verg. *Aen.* 6. 882 *si qua fata aspera rumpas* the expression has a different sense.)

I could have scattered your limbs and your hands over the sea, and hastened your evil day of death in the swelling waves; I could have snapped the thread of life of the growing boy Iulus with my own hand, and destroyed his little body by a cruel death; I could have fixed the steel deep in his flesh, or given his limbs to wild beasts; but the evil impulse has departed, driven from my heart by love, and love, having endured honorable dangers, has restrained my angry feelings. Who would dare to commit so great a wrong as this against a guest? Who would wish to have the curses of one who would do him harm? No love is hidden beneath treachery. Whom will you

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resolvere: destroy or kill; the simple verb *solvo* is generally used in this sense. Cf.

Sen. *Epist.* 66. 43 *alius inter cenandum solutus est.*
Tro. 600–601 *me fata maturo exitu*
Facilique solvant.
Curt. 8.9. 32 *corporibus quae senectus solvit.*
Flor *Epit.* 2.21.11 *sic morte quasi somno soluta est.*

97. *honesta pericula*: the phrase occurs again in 136.

98. *Corda:* "anger"; cf.
Verg. *Aen.* 1. 303 *ponuntque ferocia Poeni corda.*
6. 407 *tumida ex ira tum corda residunt.*
Val. Flac. 6. 2 *(Mars) acri corde tumet.*
Sil. 10. 490 *mansuescere corda nescia.*

in hospite: in two other places in the poem (119 and 132) initial *h* is counted as a consonant and makes position. This was the rule in Christian poets, cf. Müller pp. 14, 382, 391. It is first found in Porphyrius (early 4th century), it appears also in Juvencus, Ausonius, Dracontius, Venantius Fortunatus, Luxorius. Our author is not consistent in his treatment of initial *h*, for there are 16 places where, as in classical poetry, it fails to make position.

99. *Hoc nefas*: the cruelty which her imagination suggested in 91–96.
vota nocentis: cf. 39.

100. *fraude* is the easiest emendation for the ms. *laude.* It is to be taken closely with the preceding sentences. *Fraude* here is violation of the obligations of hospitality; it is because of her love that she cannot harm Aeneas.

Si mihi dura paras? Miserandae fata Creusae
Lamentis gemituque trahens infanda peregi
Vota deis durumque nefas sortemque malorum
Te narrante tuli, gemitus mentisque dolorem
Et lacrimas prior ipsa dedi. Cui digna rependes,
Si mihi dura paras? Dulcis mea colla fovebat
Ascanius miserumque puer figebat amorem,
Cui modo nostra fides amissam reddere matrem
Dum cupit, hoc verum mentito pignore nomen
Format amor, gemitusque graves atque oscula figit
Confessus pietate dolor. Cui digna rependes,
Si mihi dura paras? Nostri modo litoris hospes

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102. Lamenta *A, corr. a,* lamentans genitusque *Maehly* Peregit *A, corr. Wernsdorf* 103. Voto dies *A, corr. a* 104. tulit *Oudendorp* 105. lacrimis *A* 107 *delet Birt* fouebat *A,* figebat *Oudendorp,* fallebat *Burman* 108. nostram fidem *A* 110. gemitusue *A* adq; *A* 111. Concessus *Maehly* 112. nostro *A,* nostri *vulgo* hospis *A* nostro . . . litore sospes *Baehrens*

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101. *fata Creusae*: related by Vergil (*Aen.* 2. 738–795). Cf. Ov. *Epist.* 7. 83–6 *Si quaeras ubi sit formosi mater Iuli,*
Occidit, a duro sola relicta viro.
Haec mihi narraras; at me movere; merentem
Ure; minor culpa poena futura mea est.

102. *Lamentis gemituque*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 667–8
Lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu
Tecta fremunt.

peregi vota: cf. Ov. *Met.* 6. 468 *agit sua vota sub illis.*
Auson. 426. 4 (*Hecuba*) *peragit vota cum matribus.*

103. *durum . . . tuli*: Wernsdorf explains *tuli* as equivalent to *moleste tuli,* but cites no parallels to support his interpretation. *Tuli* without a modifier can hardly have this meaning, but *durum* may be taken as predicate adjective with *nefas* and *sortem*: "I bore or felt her wrong and evil destiny as cruel." Hence the meaning is about the same as that of *moleste* or *gravitur tuli.* Cf. the use of *dura* in 39.

104. *gemitus mentisque dolorem*: hendiadys.

106. *Dulcis Ascanius:* cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1. 659 *pro dulci Ascanio.*

worthily repay, if you desire cruelty for me?

While prolonging with laments and sighs the story of unhappy Creusa's fate, I offered unutterable prayers to the gods, and I grieved for her wrong and her evil destiny as you told the tale; I was myself the first to give way to the sighs and tears of an anguished mind. Whom will you worthily repay, if you desire cruelty for me?

Sweet Ascanius caressed my neck, and the boy pierced my heart with a hapless passion; while my sense of duty desired merely to restore to him his lost mother, love, with lying promise, made the name a true one, and grief, shown in sympathy, uttered deep sighs and imprinted kisses. Whom will you worthily repay, if you desire cruelty for me?

But lately you were a stranger on our shore, destitute

106–7. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1. 685–8

Ut, cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido,
Regales inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum,
Cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet,
Occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno.

and 1. 717–9 *Haec oculis, haec pectore toto*
Haeret, et interdum gremio fovet, inscia Dido
Insidat quantus miserae deus.

107. Birt rejects this line because this "stanza" is longer by a line than the others. He thinks it was added by an interpolator who felt that the name of Ascanius was required. But with the line omitted the sense is not clear. It seems better to attribute the extra line to the writer's carelessness or lack of skill than to interpolation. Birt objects to Oudendorp's conjecture *figebat* on account of the recurrence of the word in 110; but this may be really an argument in its favor; see Introduction p. 10.

108. *fides*: faithfulness to the requirements of hospitality. Dido's kindness to Ascanius was at first prompted merely by a sense of duty to the motherless boy.

109. *mentito pignore*: i. e. the false hopes of happiness which love aroused. The juxtaposition of *verum* and *mentito* is no doubt intentional.
nomen: i. e. of "mother."

110. *figit* governs *gemitus* as well as *oscula*—zeugma.
oscula figit: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1. 687 *oscula dulcia figet.*

111. *Confessus*: passive meaning.

Nudus et exul eras, dispersa classe per undas,
Naufragus, ut taceam clades quascumque videbas
Inpendisse tibi; licet haec tibi cuncta fuissent,
Regna tamen Carthago dedit. Cui digna rependes,
Si mihi dura paras? Nihil est quod dura reposcam.
Nequiquam donasse velim! Quae perdere possem
Numquam damna voco. Vel hoc mihi, prefide, redde,
Quod sibi debet amor, si nil pia facta merentur.
Esse deos natura docet, non esse timendos
Rerum facta probant. Quid enim non credere possum?

113. Nudos distuleras *A*, *corr. Maehly* dispersas classes *A*, clade α 114. clades *A*, classes α uidebor *A*, uidebar α, uidebas *Baehrens* 116. chartago *A* 117. reposcent *A*, reposcam *Higt* 118. Nec quidquid *A*, quidquam *A′*, Hoc quidquid *Baehrens*, Nequiquam *Riese*, Nec quod non *Maehly* quę *A*, quod α 119. uoco *A*, uolo *Burman* 121. esset timendos *A* 122. enim credere non *A*, nunc credere *Higt*

113. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 373–5 *Eiectum litore, egentem,*
Excepi et regni demens in parte locavi,
Amissam classem, socios a morte reduxi.
Ov. *Epist.* 7. 89–90 *Fluctibus eiectum tuta statione recepi,*
Vixque bene audito nomine regna dedi.

115. *Inpendisse:* the perfect infinitive has here the force of the present, as was often the case in late Latin, cf. Schmalz pp. 435–6. It is not, however, peculiar to late Latin, but was common in poetry, especially elegiac poetry of the classical period, where it was often used for metrical convenience; hence it came to be used in all poetry with merely present force. See A. A. Howard, *Harvard Studies* 1. p. 111.

fuissent: *licet* should properly be followed only by present or perfect subjunctive, but in late Latin it is often found with secondary tenses, and even with the indicative (cf. 149). The earliest instance of its use with a secondary tense of the subjunctive is in *Bell. Hisp.* 16. 3 *quod factum licet necopinantibus nostris esset gestum*; cf. also Juv. 13. 56, Mart. 5. 39. 8, 9. 91. 3, etc. It occurs three times in S. Silvia (see Bechtel p. 124). For discussion and further examples see Schmalz, *Neue Jahrbücher* 1891. p. 216; E. B. Lease, *Archiv für Lat. Lexicog.* 1900. p. 25, and *American Journal of Philology* 1900, p. 453.

and exiled, shipwrecked, your fleet scattered over the waves, to say nothing of all the disasters that you saw threatening you. Although all this had been your lot, yet Carthage offered you a throne. Whom will you worthily repay, if you desire cruelty for me?

There is no reason for my demanding a cruel requital. I should wish rather to have given in vain! What I could lose, I never count as loss. But, traitor, grant me at least what love owes itself, if deeds of kindness deserve no reward.

Nature teaches that there are gods, experience proves that they are not to be feared. How can I not believe it?

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117. *Nihil est quod*: used as in 35, with the subjunctive of characteristic, if the reading *reposcam* is accepted.

118. *Nequiquam* etc.: i. e. "I gave without expectation of return, consequently I do not desire to exact vengeance because my kindness has been wasted."

119. *Vel hoc*: for scansion see note on 98. *Vel* is here intensive, emphasizing *hoc*.

perfide: cf. 35.

121–2. This Epicurean doctrine is the whole theme of Lucretius. Cf. also Enn. *Trag.* 269–71

Ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam caelitum,
Sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus,
Nam si curent, bene bonis sit, male malis, quod nunc abest.

Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 3. 83 *Diogenes quidem Cynicus dicere solebat Harpalum, qui temporibus illis praedo felix habebatur, contra deos testimonium dicere, quod in illa fortuna tam diu viveret.*

Ov. *Met.* 9. 203–4 *At valet Eurystheus, et sunt qui credere possint*
Esse deos?

Am. 3. 3–1–2 *Esse deos i crede. Fidem iurata fefellit,*
Et facies illi quae fuit ante manet.

Am. 3. 9. 35–6 *Cum rapiant mala fata bonos, ignoscite fasso,*
Sollicitor nullos esse putare deos.

122. *Rerum facta*: the facts of the world, that which takes place in the world. *enim*: explanatory—"I know that the gods are not to be feared, for I have good reason to believe it."

Tutus fraude manes, et nos pietate perimus!
Inprobe, dure, nocens, crudelis, perfide, fallax,
Officiis ingrate meis! Quid verba minantur?
Non odit qui vota dolet, nec digna rependit
Quidquid laesa gemit. Tibi nempe remissus habetur
Lege pudoris amor. Cui tanta dedisse recusem,
Sceptra, domum, Tyrios, regnum, Carthaginis arces,
Et quidquid regnantis erat? De coniuge, fallax,
Non de iure queror, meritum si non habet ardor,
Sed quod hospes eras, nec te magis esse nocentem
Quam miserum, Troiane, puto, qui digna repellis
Dum non digna cupis—nondum bene siccus ad aequor

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123. Totus frauda *A*, *corr. Burman* at nos *Oudendorp* 126. dicta *Baehrens* 127. Quisquis *Maehly* lexa *A*, laesa *vulgo*, plexa *Heinse*, rixa *Baehrens* me pe remissus *A*, me permissus *vulgo*, nempe remissus *Baehrens*, Tibine rnpermissus *Oudendorp* 128. podoris *A* Cui *A*, Qui (=*quomodo*) *Riese* 129. chartaginis *A* 130. fallis *Baehrens* 132. Sit *Higt* 134. Sum *A*, Dum *Oudendorp*, Somno digna *Heinse* sicus *A*.

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124. For the succession of epithets and asyndeton cf. Auson. 298. 29–30

Salve, fons ignote ortu, sacer, alma, perennis
Vitree, glauce, profunde, sonore, illimis, opace.

and Verg. *Aen.* 3. 658 *monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens.*
For the asyndeton cf. 129.

125. *Quid* etc.: an abrupt change in Dido's mood, similar to that which is indicated in 39.

126. *Non odit* etc.: cf. Ov. *Epist.* 7. 29–30

Non tamen Aenean, quamvis male cogitat, odi,
Sed queror infidum, questaque peius amo.

digna rependit: cf. *digna rependes* of the refrain, 100 etc.

You remain safe in your treachery, and I die because of loyalty! Base, ruthless, guilty, cruel, treacherous, false, ungrateful for my kindnesses! But why these threatening words? He does not hate who repents of his wishes, nor does she who is wronged exact a fitting penalty for that for which she grieves. By you doubtless love is thought to be freed from the restraint of honor. To whom could I refuse to give so much—my sceptre, my house, the Tyrian people, my kingdom, the citadels of Carthage, and whatever belonged to a ruler? It is of my husband, false one, that I complain, not of my rights, if my passion has not the return it deserves. But you were my guest, and I think you not more guilty than pitiable, Trojan, you who reject what is worthy while you seek what is worthless—though your garments are as yet scarcely dry you hasten again to the sea, and though

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127. *laesa* is the simplest of the various emendations proposed, though it is not altogether satisfactory; the change to the feminine after the masculine *qui* is very harsh. Riese prints *lexa* marked with a dagger.

128. *dedisse*: see note on perfect infinitive, 115.

129. Cf. Ov. *Epist.* 7. 11–12

Nec nova Carthago, nec te crescentia tangunt
Moenia, nec sceptro tradita summa tuo?

132. *quod hospes*: for scansion cf. 98 and 119.

133. *digna*: i. e. what Dido offers. The contrast between what Dido has given Aeneas and what awaits him in Italy is developed at greater length by Ovid (*Epist.* 7. 13–22).

134. Anacoluthon; the *quod* clause beginning in 132 is not followed by a principal clause that logically completes it.

siccus: i. e. after suffering shipwreck in the storm which drove him to Carthage.

Curris, et extremas modo naufragus arripis undas.
Tutior esse times et honesta pericula nescis.
Cum mala vota cupis, solus tibi dura profecto
Damna paras. Fugis, ecce fugis, nostrosque penates
Deseris et miseram linquis Carthaginis aulam,
Quae tibi regna dedit, sacro diademate crines
Cinxit, et augustam gemmato sidere frontem
Conplevit, nostrumque tibi commisit amorem.
Nil puto maius habes et adhuc sine coniuge regnas,
Aeneas ingrate meus. Regat ira dolenti
Consilium! Sed praestat amor. Mea vulnera vellem

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136. nescis *A*, poscis *Wernsdorf* timens inhonesta *Higt* 139. cartaginis *A* 140. Que *A* 141. gematos. sydere *A* 142. Conplebit *A*, Inplicuit *Maehly* comisit *A* 143. regnat *Wernsdorf* 144. negat *Higt.*

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135. *arripis* = hasten to, cf.
Verg. *Aen.* 3. 477 *hanc (Ausoniam) arripe velis.*
9. 13 *turbata arripe castra.*
10. 298 *arrepta tellure semel.*
11. 531 *arripuit locum.*

136. *honesta pericula*: cf. 97.
nescis: there is no need of changing to *poscis*, as has generally been done. The emphasis is on *honesta*—in leaving the safety of Carthage Aeneas is seeking dangers, but this is no proof of courage, for they are not dangers incurred in pursuing an honorable course of conduct.

137. *vota*: accusative of inner object; cf. *vota queror*, 87.
solus: i. e. you have only yourself to blame.
profecto: perfect participle.

140. *sacro diademate*, etc.: cf.
Lucan 5. 60 *Cingere Pellaeo pressos diademate crines.*
Claud. 7. 84 *sacro . . . ornat diademate crines.*
Prud. *c. Symm.* 2. 430 *caput augustum diademate cinxit.*
Prisc. *Anast.* 163 *Quo caput ipse tuum primo diademate cinxit.*
The epithet *sacrum* is often used with *diadema* (cf. *Thesaurus*).

lately shipwrecked you are hurrying to distant seas. You are afraid to be safer, and yet you know nothing of dangers that are honorable. While you cherish your evil desires, you alone are preparing cruel disaster for yourself by your departure. You flee, lo! you flee and abandon my household gods, and leave the unhappy court of Carthage, which gave you a thro ne, which encircled your hair with the sacred diadem, placed on your majestic brow the jewelled constellation, and entrusted you with my love. You have nothing greater, I think, than this, and you still reign without a cȯnsort, my ungrateful Aeneass Let anger rule the counsels of one who grieves! But love is.

The *diadema* was originally a purple fillet worn by the Persian king around the tiara. Among the Romans it was always regarded as a symbol of kingly power. From the time of Constantine it was adopted by the Caesars as a sign of their imperial dignity; it was often adorned with a row of pearls or precious stones, or made of gold and jewels. See Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, and S. M. Stevenson, *Dictionary of Roman Coins*, s. v. *diadema*.

141. *sidere* may refer to the form of the diadem, or merely to the brilliance of the jewels of which it is composed.

143. *maius*: sc. *nostro amore* from previous line.

144. *meus*: vocative. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6. 835 *sanguis meus.*
In early Latin *meus* is used as vocative only with a noun having the vocative like the nominative; with later writers this rule is not observed. Cf. Kühner 1. p. 447. 7.
ira: contrasted with *amor;* cf. 15 ff.

145. *vellem*: the present subjunctive might have been expected here.

Fletibus augeri, sed iam discrimine mortis
Victa feror. Neque enim tantus de funere luctus
Quantus erat de fratre. Licet simul inprobus exul
Et malus hospes eras et ubique timendus haberis,
Vive tamen nostrumque nefas post fata memento.

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146. auferri *Maehly* 147. fessos *A*, feror α neque erit *Maehly* fenere *A*, funere α, foedere *Baehrens* 148. erit *A*, erat *Wernsdorf* 149. maius hospis *A* (hospes A^1), malus *Baehrens*, magis *Burman* 150. facta *A*, fata *Burman.*

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146. *fletibus augeri*: Dido here recurs to the same thought as was expressed at the beginning of the epistle (cf. 8); she would like to have the satisfaction of dwelling on her wrongs.

147. *feror*: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4. 497 *feror ingenti circumdata nocte.*
Aen. 4. 376 *Heu Furiis incensa feror.*
luctus: sc. *erit.*

148. *fratre*: Dido's brother, Pygmalion.

149. *eras, haberis*: indicative with *licet,* which is found from the time of Apuleius on; see note on 115.

150. *Vive*: cf. Ov. *Epist.* 7. 63–4

Vive precor, sic te melius quam funere perdam.
Tu potius leti causa ferere mei.

and 6. 164 *Vivite, devoto nuptaque virque toro.*

Cf. Palmer's note on the latter passage—"There is often some bitterness, almost a curse, in this word."

better. I should wish that my wounds might grow through lamentations, but already I hasten on, conquered by my determination to die. Nor indeed will there be such mourning for my death as there was because of my brother's crime. Though you were at once base as an exile and faithless as a guest, and everywhere are regarded as one to be feared, yet live, and after my death remember the wrong that you did to me.

INDEX VERBORUM

* *indicates that the word is not in A, but is introduced into the text as an emendation.*

† *indicates that the word is found in A, but not accepted in the text.*